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L E T T E R

FROM

A R T H U R ' s

TO THE

C O C O A - T R E E,

In ANSWER to the LETTER from thence to the
COUNTRY-GENTLEMEN.

The SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N :

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AMAZED, not more by the scurrility, than the presumption, of a party, who have ever been deemed the violators of their country's honour and interest, I have taken upon me to answer the letter from the Cocoa Tree. Attached with loyalty to my Sovereign, with zeal to my country, I can consider that letter in no other light than as coming from a Tory; one of the dregs (for many such there are) of a mischievous faction, who have ever aimed to distress liberty, and destroy the blessings of this free constitution; and who have ever calumniated the friends of the Revolution and the Hanoverian succession.

Toryism is of such a nature, that, from its rise, the Whiggs (who have ever been the friends of good government, and to whom only the present royal family owe their establishment on the English throne) have always found it absolutely necessary to oppose its unconstitutional principles and practices; because they tended to the prescribing unlawful authorities, and placing an almost unlimited controul; thereby paving the steps to absolute despotism on one hand, and slavery on the other.

It is to the project, says Rapin, of rendering James I. absolute and independent of the laws that Toryism owes its birth. “ It was by the pernicious counsels of Bucking-
 “ ham, his favorite, that he engaged in this design, which
 “ probably would have ended unfortunately for him, had
 “ not death surprized him before he plainly discovered his
 “ intention. This duke of Buckingham ought to be con-
 “ sidered as the *first author* of the troubles. Under Charles I.

“ the project of rendering the king absolute and indepen-
 “ dent of the laws, was vigorously pushed and advanced by
 “ all methods. The duke of Buckingham, favorite to
 “ Charles I. as he had been to his father” [for favorites
 have ever been odious in England, and looked upon with a
 jealous eye by the people] “ inspired him with maxims di-
 “ rectly contrary to the established government, and thereby
 “ occasioned his ruin. The duke being *assassinated*, the
 “ design was pursued by Charles, which had been begun
 “ by the deceased favorite. Unhappily for him he admitted
 “ to his person and counsels two men imbued with the
 “ same maxims,” *viz.* Laud archbishop of Canterbury, and
 the earl of Strafford; whose sentences for decapitation he
 had the mortification to find himself forced to sign in 1641
 and 1644. The kingdom, from its former happy state, be-
 came distracted by two parties; one for the king, and one
 for the parliament. The first were called Tories, being the
 name given to an Irish banditti of robbers; they being suspected
 of favouring the Irish rebellion. “ The Roman Catholics
 “ joined, from the first, the king’s party, which was more
 “ favourable to them than that of the parliament, and have
 “ always remained united with the Tories.” They found
 their mutual advantage in the king’s prosperity, without
 which they could not hope to succeed in their respective de-
 signs. Their number was small, and little capable to sup-
 port the king in his adversity, though during his prosperity
 they made a great noise. They wished to see the king in-
 vested with absolute power, and able to destroy the privi-
 leges of parliament. The parliament party, who were called
 Whiggs, “ desired to reduce the king to an incapacity of
 “ abusing his power, by leaving him the possession of his just
 “ rights.”

“ rights.” They were the most powerful, and were supported by the whole nation. Charles had recourse to his army ; but he was defeated, and beheaded in 1648.” Thus “ the king himself, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Strafford, and the archbishop of Canterbury, authors of “ the project to render the king absolute, came all to a tragical end.” The motives of the Whiggs in opposing that project were laudable and honest ; but they were afterwards pushed to an extreme.

Charles II. at his restoration took the Tories alone into his confidence, which filled his reign with troubles and anarchy. They were incessantly urging him to restore the monarchy of the church. “ The court of France, for interests of “ their own, laboured to inspire him with the same “ design. In a word, his ministers took care to hinder the “ Whiggs from insinuating themselves into the king’s favour. The Tory party had at their head the duke of “ York, the king’s brother, a prince naturally impetuous “ and violent, who having embraced the Roman Catholic “ religion in his exile, formed the project of establishing it “ in England,” and he aimed at changing the form of government. The Whiggs, whose principles were directly contrary to the duke’s designs, both with regard to the church and the state, continually opposed him, and he was at length presented at the Court of King’s-Bench, by a bill in form, as a Popish recusant ; whereupon the king was obliged to send him to Scotland, to be out of the way. The Whiggs so clearly saw the dangerous designs of the duke, supported by the Tories and Papists, that in the house of commons they voted his exclusion from the throne, and a bill was passed for that purpose, though thrown out by the lords. In

a word, the Whiggs were immoveably attached to the liberties and interests of their country. They had information of the intrigues between the Tories and Papists, and they foresaw all those evils which happened, when the duke of York, afterwards James II. became king.

Let us now turn to Rapin, and view the Tories in their genuine colours:

“ The Tories in general are fierce and haughty. The Whiggs are treated by them with the utmost contempt, and even with rigour when they have the superiority. I cannot better compare the behaviour of the Tories to the Whiggs, than to that of the Roman Catholicks to the Protestants in countries where the Papists have the advantage of number, and the support of the government. It is with regret that the Tories allow the Presbyterians liberty of conscience. When the power is in their hands, they seldom failed to prohibit their assemblies, and to exclude them from public employments by acts of parliament. The last years of queen Anne afforded flagrant instances of the haughtiness of this party.

“ There is another character which belongs to them. They are exceeding passionate and precipitate in their motions. This often disconcerts all their projects. When they have the reins in their own hands they drive with amazing rapidity. Very remarkable proofs of this were seen under Charles II. James II. and queen Anne.

“ Another character of the Tories is, their change of principles as their party prevails or is humbled. When they have the prince on their side, the doctrine of passive obedience is supported with all their power, and every ordinance of the king is to be obeyed without examination, because then,
they

they would have the Whiggs suffer themselves to be oppressed without any resistance. But when the government is in the hands of the contrary part, this doctrine lies dormant or is forgotten. Thus, in all the Tory writers, who have transmitted the troubles of the reign of Charles I. passive obedience is established as a principle certain and incontestable. This is owing to their intention of representing the measures of the parliament for their own defence, and in opposition to the designs of the king, as a horrible rebellion. When the Presbyterians were persecuted in Charles II's reign, passive obedience was every where talked of. But it was still much worse under James II. When William was on the throne, the doctrine of passive obedience was no longer enforced, because that king was considered as no friend to the Tories. The case was the same under queen Anne, while the ministry was composed of Whiggs. But the doctrine revived when that princess delivered herself up to the conduct of the High Flyers."

" Let us now speak of the character of the Whiggs.

" The heads of the Whigg party are much more moderate than the leaders of the Tories. Besides, they proceed generally upon fixed principles, from which they never swerve. Far from desiring, like the Tories, to carry things with a high hand, they advance gradually, without heat or violence. By this moderation they try to insinuate mildly into the people, that they have no ill designs. They generally support a good cause, namely, the constitution of the government as established by law.

" It remains only that I briefly speak of the interests of the neighbouring states, with regard to the Whiggs and Tories. Though the differences between the two parties seem only

to respect England, they have a great influence on the affairs of the other states. The peace of Utrecht clearly shows of what consequence they are to all Europe.

“ Every one knows that the States-General of the United Provinces are friends of the Whiggs, and very justly, since the Whiggs have all along supported their interest in England. The Whiggs obliged Charles II. to make a peace with Holland, when he was in league with Lewis XIV. against her. From that time, they have ever considered the interest of the Dutch as their own. Accordingly in their turn they have received signal services from them, particularly in the assistance given by the States-General to the prince of Orange, to go and break king James’s measures. This good understanding is still cultivated, so that the Dutch may be said to be Whiggs, and the Whiggs to be Dutch. The reason of this union is evident. For France, perpetual enemy of Holland, ever supported the Tories; whence it follows, that Holland is obliged to stand by the Whiggs, since she cannot expect assistance from England, but by their means. This is so clear, that it needs no farther illustration.

“ For the same reason, the emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, ought to be a friend to the Whiggs. As he must look upon the king of France, as a very formidable and dangerous neighbour, he can expect the assistance of the English, in case his dominions are invaded, but when the Whiggs are in power. In all appearance, the Tories would not exert themselves in the defence of the Netherlands against the invasions of France. But, should the emperor, though excessive zeal for his religion, lend his forces to the Pretender to ascend the throne of England, he would
only

only render France still more powerful, and add to the balance of Europe a weight, which would make it entirely incline to one side.

“ The Interests of France with regard to the Whiggs and Tories, afford matter for many more observations. Lewis XIV. as every one knows, formed a project of an universal monarchy in Europe. As he was not ignorant that England was concerned to keep the balance of Europe open, and that the English consider'd this maxim as the chief foundation of their security, he was justly apprehensive of their opposing the execution of his designs. For prevention of which, he used all his address to gain Charles II. to his interest, when he had resolv'd upon a war with Holland in 1672. The ministry being Tory, he drew Charles, by their means, into a league with him. But this league was of no long continuance. It was so evidently against the interest of England, that the parliament obliged the king to make peace with Holland. Nay, they would have constrained him to declare against France, if the prospect of an approaching peace between that crown and the States-General, had not hindered them from going so far.

“ The peace of Nimeguen, concluded in 1678, caused not the king of France to discontinue the prosecution of his grand designs. But as he was very sensible king Charles would not have it in his power to follow his own inclination, he resolv'd to take another method, in order to disable England at least from interposing in the affairs of Europe. And that was to raise troubles in the kingdom, and then to foment them, that the English might be employed at home. The duke of York's plots, the king his brother's easiness to be guided by his counsels, the choice
of

of passionate and perhaps corrupt ministers, proceeded, in all appearance, from Lewis's secret practices in England.

“ Upon the accession of James II. to the throne, Lewis gave not over a method that had proved so successful. On the contrary, he pressed the new king of England to execute the project he had formed when duke of York, in favour of popery and arbitrary power. He knew these two points were sufficient to keep England long employed ; however, as his aim was only to embroil the nation, he never assisted king James to any purpose. The too sudden execution of that prince's designs was not for his interest. When he saw him on the point of being attacked by the prince of Orange, he never stirred in his defence, but rather made use of the juncture to carry war into Germany. He imagined that the troubles he had raised in England would long disable that kingdom from opposing his ambitious designs. This was the sole end of his proceedings. Afterwards, when king William declared war against him, he sent king James into Ireland with seven thousand men, an aid to weak too restore him to his throne, but sufficient to make a diversion, and feed the hopes of the malecontents. Thus it is demonstrable from Lewis's whole conduct, that his sole intention was to embroil England, and that king James was the dupe of his policy. It seems however at first sight, that king James's restoration would have been for Lewis's advantage : But most assuredly it was against his interest for a king of England to be at peace in his dominions. The reason is plain ; as it is the interest of England to keep the balance even in Europe, Lewis, who had formed vast projects, would have been in danger of being opposed by a king of England, who having no distractions at home, might in the

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end pursue his true interests, or be forced to it by his parliament. And therefore Lewis XIV. was satisfied to keep England embroiled, and for that purpose, to hold secret correspondence with the leading Tories, who discovered themselves in the last years of queen Anne."

For the sake of fair representation and honest impartiality, we shall quote the concluding remark of Rapin.—Would a Tory do as much?

" I have but one observation more to make, with which I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the Whiggs and the Torys. In speaking of their several views, interests and characters, I pretend not to include every particular person of either party, but only their leaders and managers, with some of the most active of both sides. Though the people in general, by inclination, or interest, are either Whiggs or Torys, it does not follow that every single person acts in the views I have ascribed to them. It is certain most suffer themselves to be led without knowing where it is intended to conduct them, or examining the course prescribed them. Consequently they are far from being concerned in the intrigues and cabals of their leaders. Such a one has listed himself a Tory, as being attached to the church of England, and afterwards, without knowing how, finds himself obliged to maintain the principles of the high-flyers and rigid Torys, though contrary to his inclination. There are thousands of good Englishman, without doubt, who grieve to see their country thus rent with divisions, and would gladly embrace all expedients to put a stop to them. But it is not easy to observe a just neutrality, because it is dif-

ficult to be without ambition and avarice. Those who stand neuter, are neither preferred nor trusted, by reason that one of the parties are always in power, and have nothing more at heart than the advancing their friends, or gaining some of their adversaries. Consequently there can be no posts or offices for men, from whom the prevailing party can expect no manner of service. Moreover, how can a man be neuter between two parties, each of whom represent their adversaries as designing those evils which are apt to fill men with fears, I mean, the dissolution of a Government, which, alone, in their opinions can render subjects happy? A man must be very insensible not to be moved with such dangers, when convinced of their reality.

“ All Englishmen therefore are not to bear the blame of these unnatural divisions, but only those who cherish them for their own private interest.”

It is the French king's interest to preserve a good understanding with the Tories, in order by their means to foment troubles in England; and he has ever done it successfully, except in one instance; when the whole power of the Whiggs was fully exerted against his machinations, and accomplished that everlasting blessing to this land the *Revolution*, in spite of *his* craft or James's tyranny, and framed the bill of rights, and afterwards the act of succession. To the Whiggs, who have ever been the friends of liberty and the constitution, do we owe that glorious Revolution, which rescued this nation from the arbitrary, dangerous, and despotic designs of a Popish king: whose principles and views had long been foreseen by the Whiggs: whose conduct, when
duke

duke of York, was sufficiently alarming, by putting himself at the head of the Tories, for the Whiggs to dread the consequences of his accession to the throne: and therefore, except in the Revolution and Hanoverian establishment, the Whiggs never appeared in so patriotic a light, as when they brought in the bill to exclude him from the succession, because the event proved the wisdom of that measure.

The Tories, ever ready to assist the designs of France to embroil England, to oppose the Protestant succession, and bring in the Pretender, watched every opportunity of taking some step towards the accomplishment of their views. In 1700, when the Duke of Gloucester died, they sent a proposal to the Pretender at St. Germain's, "to get the succession settled on the pretended prince of Wales." *Tindal*. In 1705 they opposed, with all their weight and warmth, the act of regency, appointing seven persons, who held seven of the highest offices, to proclaim the successor on the decease of the queen. Although they failed in this, they were not disheartened. They wrought by degrees on the credulous sovereign; they flattered her weakness; and, according to all historians, their views were to bring in the Pretender. They were indefatigable in their labours to undermine the Whigg ministry, who for several years, in conjunction with the emperor and the states of Holland, had vigorously carried on an offensive and successful war against France and Spain, with unanimity at home, and glory abroad. They at length effected their point; and on a sudden, while Great Britain was in the meridian of her glory, the most surprising blow was struck to the progress of our happiness and success.

success. The queen sent to the earl of Godolphin, then lord-treasurer, and demanded his staff; at the same time displacing lord Sunderland, then secretary of state; the whole Whigg party at once were removed, being undermined by the plausible insinuations of Bolingbroke and Harley. The affairs of the nation were entrusted in other hands and other principles; the channel of the administration diverted, and turned quite another way; the old measures thrown by as useless, because not invented by the new administrators, who were therefore resolved to act on a different foot from the last: the vessel of state was immediately guided by new pilots, who being at a loss to proceed, tacked about, and stood in for a different port than was before designed.

When they were first advanced into the chair of the administration; when they had by treachery undermined the Whigg ministry, they made a thorough change at home, before they began to meddle with affairs abroad; when they saw their cunning at last prevail over all opposition from the Whigg party; when they had entirely suppressed and displaced every Whigg in the nation, they at first went no farther, but for a while suffered transactions abroad to run on in their old channel, which gave some ground to hope they would make no alteration there; and though they did not immediately affront the duke of Marlborough, being almost afraid to displace a general so beloved, yet at length, perceiving they could not play their game with, or carry on the war without him, they resolved to put an end to the command of the one, and the progress of the other: seeing that worthy patriot would not come into their
measures,

but it may be observed, that about this time the Pretender's friends were not a little alarmed at a secret treaty, which was said to be concluded between the elector of Brunswick and the States-general; whereby the States, in consideration of a certain sum, engaged to furnish the elector with a certain number of ships and land-forces (besides their engagements as guarantees of the succession) to support his claim to the crown of Great-Britain. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the court of Hanover did not rely on the fair promises, given them by the British ministers, and which were manifestly contradicted by matters of fact. And as some of the British ministers and generals were, at this juncture, very intent upon new-modelling the army; so on the other hand, the duke of Argyle, the generals Stanhope and Cadogan, and several other experienced commanders, were no less, active, though with more caution, in keeping steady and preparing against all events, such military men, as they knew to be well affected to the protestant succession. General Stanhope, in particular, had several private conferences with the principal officers among the French refugees; who being a considerable body, and all zealous for the cause, no small stress was laid on their assistance, as well as that of their country. So, if things had been brought to extremities, exclusive of the interposition of foreign forces, the well-affected to the house of Hanover would have been equal if not superior to the Pretender's friends.

This will appear more than probable, if we consider, that most of the merchants and monied men in the
city

city of London (which, in all revolutions, have the greatest influence over the rest of the kingdom) were entirely devoted to the protestant succession; and it is now known, that some of the principal of them had agreed with the generals Cadogan and Stanhope to exert their whole interest in the city, whenever any attempt should be made upon the succession; and that measures were early concerted by the Kit-Cat-Club, with a major-general, who had a considerable post in the foot-guards, to seize the Tower, upon the first appearance of danger, and to secure in it such persons, as were justly suspected to favour the Pretender. This Boyer, the historian, had from the major-general's own mouth, whose name he had not liberty to reveal.

Hail then, illustrious ancestors, to whom we owe the blessings of freedom, and the existence of our constitution, in spite of all the efforts of Toryism and French policy. It is the warmth of gratitude for what we now, and I hope ever shall enjoy, that pours forth the tribute of praise due to your immortal memories. Hail DEVONSHIRE, BOLTON, SOMERSET, NOTTINGHAM, DANBY, TOWNSHEND, PELHAM, &c. &c. &c. O could I print your names in letters of gold! You who stood up in defence of your country, and accomplished the glorious and ever-memorable *Revolution!* You, who defeated all the *secret* designs of Toryism to bring in the Pretender, and immoveably fixed the illustrious House of Hanover on the throne of Great Britain! to whom, and to you, we are indebted for our *liberties*: and may we ever retain a strong remembrance of these great obligations; nor ever cease to be attached to, nor to stand
up

measures, and act upon as false a foot as themselves, they took occasion, by overcoming their credulous mistress, to let his grace know from the throne, that they had now no farther need of his services; that he had indeed served his country very faithfully, had behaved himself very bravely, throughout his whole conduct, and had just finished one of the most glorious wars recorded in history; had restored liberty to Europe, rescued the Roman eagle, and placed the ballance of power in her Majesty's hands; yet for sufficient reasons of state, and the queen's royal will and pleasure, which a subject must not dispute, he must resign*.

After this they made a separate peace with France, leaving the Dutch and the emperor to shift for themselves, contrary to the most solemn assurances, declarations, and royal promises, that the queen would never forsake her allies, or make peace without them; and afterwards, in the face of the whole world, acted directly retrograde to those engagements: they ruined one of the strongest, best laid confederacies in the world, and broke the bravest army in Europe.

* About this time Mr. Baillie said in the house of commons, "He was little acquainted with the affairs of England: but had made it his business to know those of his country; and, by all the observations he could make for some years past, they, who appeared the most zealous for the Pretender's interest, were the most favoured and contended by those in power."

The peace was infamous, and the signers of it were afterwards impeached of high treason. It was nothing adequate to the success of our arms, nor to the advantages which the nation had a right to expect, after having so long cheerfully borne the burden of supporting the war. This treachery (for it was nothing less) of the Tories is accounted for, when we find that all their views centered in the hopes of bringing in the Pretender by the assistance of France.

Although the Whiggs to a man had been disgraced and removed from all confidence or share of the royal favour, and their places given to professed Tories who were attached at bottom to the Pretender; yet they did not fail to exert themselves openly and vigorously when they saw the protestant succession in danger; they spread the alarm of danger all over the nation; held frequent consultations with the Hanoverian resident in London; communicated accounts of their conduct and sentiments to the elector. In a word, they were active and resolute, and their proceedings were laudable

A little before the queen's death the Whiggs, in concert with the court of Hanover, took all imaginable precautions to secure the protestant succession; and though it was given out by the Tories (just before her death) that she was in no manner of danger, yet those who watched for the security of the protestant succession, did not want intelligence of her dangerous condition, and took all possible measures to defeat any attempt, that should be made to bring in the Pretender, at or before her death. As that case never happened, those measures are for the most part a secret; but

up in the defence of the Royal Family, in order to secure to ourselves and our country the blessings of *freedom* ; ever reflecting on what a faction is Toryism, and on what mischiefs it has done ; though we mention not the years 1715 nor 1745.

A Friend to the Constitution,

To the Royal Family ;

A Whigg, and

An Englishman.

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